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GRANT
AND
GARFIELD
1880.

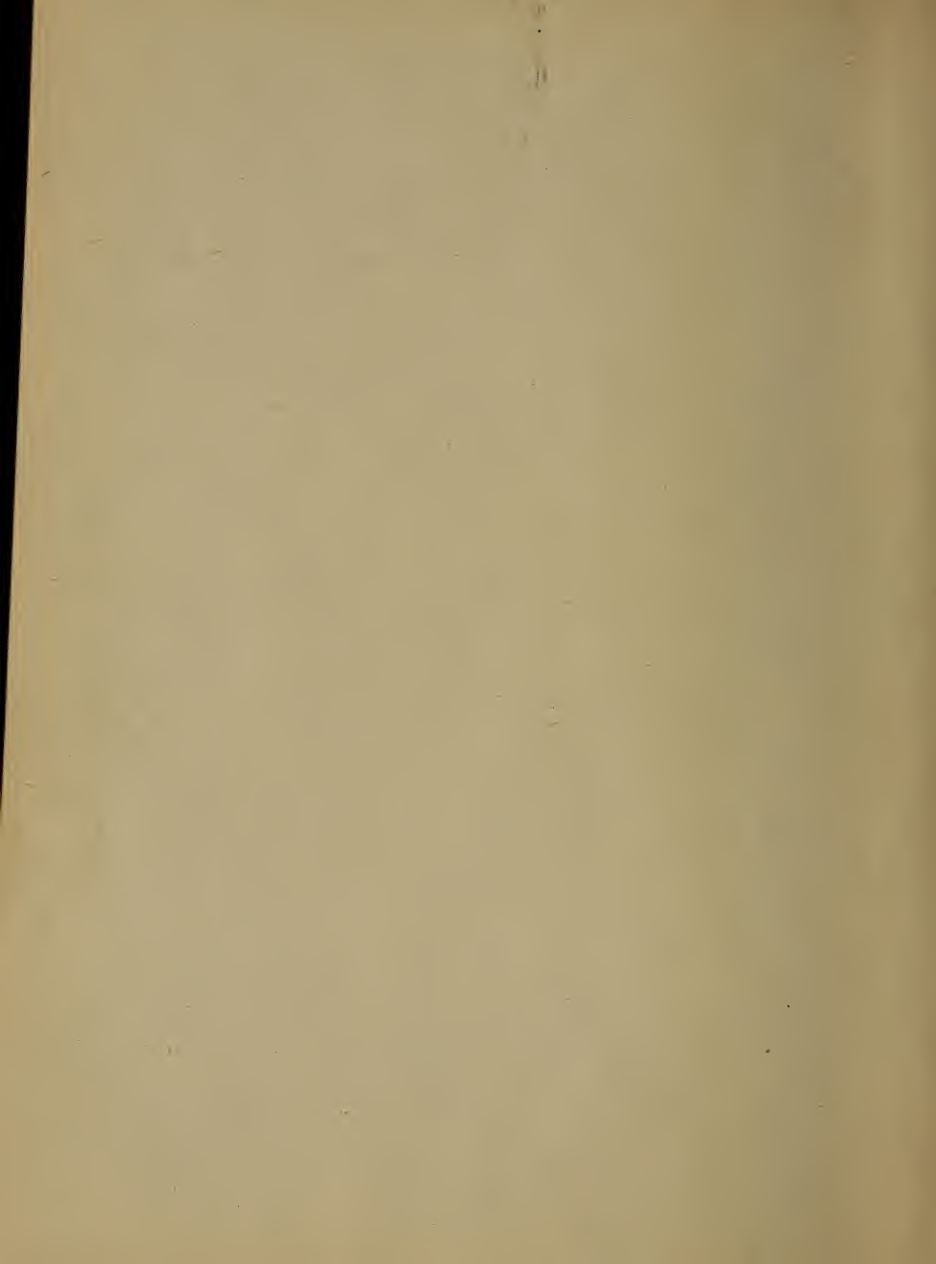
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



G E M S

OF THE

C A M P A I G N

OF

1880.

BY

Ulysses Simpson

GENERALS GRANT AND GARFIELD.

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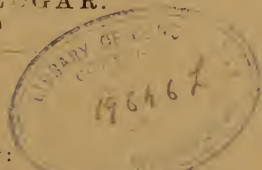
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GEORGE P. EDGAR.

JERSEY CITY :

ISSUED BY THE LINCOLN ASSOCIATION.

1881.



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INTRODUCTION.

The compiler is certain that, rather than the usual preface, a speech from the gallant FREMONT, the *first* leader of the Republican Party, the memorable Gettysburg address by President LINCOLN, the first Republican President, and a few remarks of President Hayes on education, will be received by all patriotic and intelligent readers of these "Gems" as a fitting introduction.

GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT,

AT THE COLEMAN HOUSE, NEW YORK, AUG. 4TH.

I thank you, gentlemen. Your cordial welcome gives me great pleasure. I am sincerely glad that the great events which have intervened have not obliterated the memory of the time when we worked together and became friends. Coming freshly among you, and having meanwhile met but few of you, my mind naturally reverts to that time, and the results of your work stand out to me in bolder relief, probably, than to yourselves, who have been engaged upon it continuously.

I congratulate you upon it. To you belongs the satisfaction that the end has crowned your work. When you began it—when the Republican party obtained control of the Government, it presented here what Mr. Webster's warning voice called "the dis-severed fragments of a glorious Republic."

Being then for the moment in England, I had occasion to feel how our friends were grieved, and our enemies rejoiced, over what they all considered the disastrous failure of our "experiment."

They did not believe in the possibility of reunion. They had no knowledge of our military strength and did not believe in it; they looked upon our political theory as a failure, and regarded the country as practically bankrupt.

But you, the Republican party, changed all this. You sustained the country throughout that formidable war. You reunited the fragments and made of them a nation. You carried it successfully through its after-period of exhaustion, and have brought it to its present condition of great and expanding prosperity.

Now, in this condition of assured tranquility and prosperity, our political opponents demand that you should turn over to them and place in their discretion the fruits of your labor and the results of your policy.

For answer we refer them to the country.

Meantime, while they are demanding everything from us, we will take something from them. It was a time-honored maxim of the Democratic party—belonging to a time when Democracy was one and the same with the Union, when its great chiefs battled against the first encroachments upon the Union—that

"*Measures, not men,*" was the party rule. I see with pleasure that our party is disposed to adopt this maxim, and to treat this contest as above personalities.

Abuse of candidates can serve no good purpose. Its only effect is to depreciate and lessen in the eyes of the people the office itself, which is the expression of their own dignity and power.

The choice of candidates concerns each party solely. They have made their selections and are satisfied with them, and each has abundant reason for being so.

We, certainly, are fully satisfied and well pleased with our candidates, General GARFIELD and General ARTHUR.

But, once nominated, the candidate is absorbed into his party, and it is with the party itself and its record that the people have to do.

Certainly, the people of our country, the great body of the people, are more highly informed than in any other. They are kept daily and currently informed by the Press, which is in quick and full sympathy with them, and which also constantly reflects their opinions and wishes. They elect their Presidents understandingly. They put them in place to represent their views and to carry them out; and no President can safely undertake to put himself in declared opposition to the will of the party that puts him in office.

During our civil war—and it is not so far back but that we remember the course of its events distinctly—we know of our own knowledge that the people were always ahead of the Administration and compelled its action.

The question, therefore, before the country is, which

of the two great parties that are claiming its confidence has, for the needs and uses of the people, the best record? Which, judged by its record, is the safer of the two to be intrusted with the business interests of the country?

At the outset, the Republican party declared its purposes and its policy.

It has fulfilled its promises.

It has executed its measures and tested them.

It has redeemed its paper and is a solvent party, and now it comes before the country upon its record.

When it has happened to a man to receive a shock in business through the misconduct, or, let us say, through the incapacity of a trusted agent, and he employs another agent who brings order into his affairs, pays his debts, retrieves his fortune, and puts his business in a prosperous condition—is it likely that he would remove him to put another in his place?

Is it at all probable that he would discharge his tried agent and put in his place the very man who brought his disasters upon him? Twenty years ago the people made the Republican party their agent to retrieve their estate.

You, the Republicans, carried them through the storm of the war and the stagnation which followed it, and brought them to this period of solid prosperity unparalleled in their history.

Certainly there can be no sound reason to risk disturbing the present conditions.

I am glad to see that the Republican party is to-day more united than it has been for many years, and it is to be hoped that no Republican will permit himself to be drawn from the ranks by any side issues whatever.

Every man knows—every man in business, every farmer in the country, knows that he has a personal and present interest, more or less direct, in the well-being of the country; and every man will do a wrong, not only to the country but to himself, who does not look carefully into the subjects at issue and vote accordingly.

Now, gentlemen, I have not supposed that I was saying anything not perfectly well known to yourselves; but in coming among you I thought it well to say something of what is the color of my mind on the subject which so interests us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE GETTYSBURG CEMETERY,
NOVEMBER 19, 1863.

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our

power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

PRESIDENT HAYES,

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO, AUGUST, 1880.

I am firmly convinced that the subject of popular education deserves the earnest attention of the people of the whole country, with a view to wise and comprehensive action by the Government of the United States. The means at the command of the local and State authorities are in many cases wholly inadequate to deal with the question. The magnitude of the evil to be eradicated is not, I apprehend, generally and fully understood. Consider these facts:

THE UNEDUCATED CLASSES.

First—In the late slaveholding States, under the system of slavery, education was denied to the colored

people, and the education of the non-slaveholding white people was greatly neglected. * * *

This leaves 2,447,488—almost two and half millions—of the young who are growing up without the means of education. Citizenship and the right to vote were conferred upon the colored people by the Government and people of the United States. It is, therefore, the sacred duty, as it is the highest interest, of the United States to see that these new citizens and voters are fitted by education for the grave responsibility which has been cast upon them. Dr. Ruffner, School Superintendent of Virginia, in an argument that the General Government should aid the public schools of the South, says:

“I know not what is true of Northern and Western States, but I can say for my State, and for most of the Southern States, we are not able to educate our people in any tolerable sense. We are too poor to do it. A few years ago I showed this conclusively by statistics.” * * *

Second.—In the Territories of the United States it is estimated that there are over 200,000 Indians, almost all of whom are uncivilized. They have heretofore been hunters and warriors. * * * With the disappearance of game there can no longer remain Indian hunters and warriors. The days of Indian wars are drawing to a close. There will soon be no room for question as to the department to which the Indian will belong. In a few years all must agree that he should belong, like every other citizen, only to himself. The time is not distant when he should be chiefly cared for by the civilizing department of the Government, the Bureau of Education.

Third.—The people of the Territory of New Mexico have never been provided with the means of education. * * * The school population is now over 30,000, of which only about one-sixth are enrolled in schools. It will not be questioned that the power of the General Government to “make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States” is sufficient to authorize it to provide for the education of the increasing mass of illiterate citizens growing up in New Mexico and in the other Territories of the United States.

Fourth.—The number of immigrants arriving in the United States is greater than ever before. It is probable, from present indications, that, from this source alone, there will be added, during the current decade, to the population of our country 5,000,000 of people. * * * *

Happily for the United States, several of the large elements of this immigration contain very few people who are wholly uneducated. The Germans and Scandinavians have for the most part been educated at public schools in their native country. But it is probable that from one-fourth to one-third of the present total immigration into our country is from foreign nations in which popular education is greatly neglected. It may reasonably be estimated that at least from 20 to 25 per cent. of the immigrants are illiterate. In the current decade we shall probably receive from abroad more than a million of people of school age and upward who are unable to read or write any language; and of these, about a quarter of a million, in a few years, will share with us equally, man for man, the duties and responsibilities of the citizen and the voter.

Jefferson, with his almost marvelous sagacity and foresight, declared nearly a hundred years ago that free schools were an essential part—one of the columns, as he expressed it—of the Republican edifice, and that “without instruction, free to all, the sacred flame of liberty could not be kept burning in the hearts of Americans.” Madison said, almost sixty years ago, “A popular government, without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps to both.” Already, in too many instances, elections have become the farce which Madison predicted; and the tremendous tragedy which we saw when we were soldiers of the Union, and in which we bore a part, could never have occurred if in all sections of our country there had been universal suffrage based upon universal education. In our country, as everywhere else, it will be found that, in the long run, ignorant voters are powder and ball for the demagogues. The failure to support free schools in any part of our country tends to cheapen and degrade the right of our suffrage, and will ultimately destroy its value in every other part of the Republic.

The unvarying testimony of history is that the nations which win the most renowned victories in peace and war are those which provide ample means for popular education. Without free schools there is no such thing as affording to “every man an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life.” In the present condition of our country, universal education requires the aid of the General Government. The authority to grant such aid is established by a line of precedents, beginning with the origin of the Republic and running down through almost every

administration to the present time. Let this aid be granted wherever it is essential to the enjoyment of free popular instruction. In the language of Mr. Webster:

“The census of these States shows how great a proportion of the whole population occupies the classes between infancy and manhood. Those are the wide fields, and here is the deep and quick soil for the seeds of knowledge and virtue; and this is the favored season, the very springtime for sowing them. Let them be disseminated without stint. Let them be scattered with a bountiful hand broadcast. Whatever the Government can fairly do towards those objects, in my opinion, ought to be done”



GENERAL GRANT.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY MUST NOT BE BEATEN
NOW—NO SURRENDER UNTIL THERE ARE FREE
ELECTIONS AND AN HONEST COUNT.

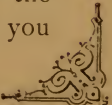

MY DEAR GENERAL LOGAN:—I left this place two weeks ago for an extended tour through San Luis Park and the Gunnison country, and hence have only just received your letter of the 28th of July. I will be going East the latter part of September, and will gladly attend any meeting intended to further the success of the ticket headed by Garfield and Arthur. I agree with you that it will not do to be beaten now. We should never be beaten until every man who counts, or represents those who count, in the enumeration to give representation in the Electoral College, can cast his vote just as he pleases, and can have it counted just as he cast it. Yours truly,

Manitou Springs, Col., Aug. 12, 1880.

U. S. GRANT.

AT WARREN, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 28.

In view of the known character and ability of the speaker [Senator Conkling] who is to address you



to-day, and his long public career and association with the leading statesmen of this country for the past twenty years, it would not be becoming in me to detain you with many remarks of my own. But it may be proper for me to account to you on the first occasion of my presiding at political meetings for the faith that is in me.

I am a Republican, as the two great political parties are now divided, because the Republican party is a National party seeking the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens. There is not a precinct in this vast Nation where a Democrat cannot cast his ballot and have it counted as cast. No matter what the prominence of the opposite party, he can proclaim his political opinions, even if he is only one among a thousand, without fear and without proscription on account of his opinions. There are fourteen States, and localities in some other States, where Republicans have not this privilege.

This is one reason why I am a Republican. But I am a Republican for many other reasons. The Republican party assures protection to life and property, the public credit and the payment of the debts of the Government, State, county, or municipality so far as it can control. The Democratic party does not promise this; if it does it has broken its promises to the extent of hundreds of millions as many Northern

Democrats can testify to their sorrow. I am a Republican, as between the existing parties, because it fosters the production of the field and farm and of manufactories, and it encourages the general education of the poor as well as the rich. The Democratic party discourages all these when in absolute power. The Republican party is a party of progress and of liberality toward its opponents. It encourages the poor to strive to better their children, to enable them to compete successfully with their more fortunate associates, and, in fine, it secures an entire equality before the law of every citizen, no matter what his race, nationality or previous condition. It tolerates no privileged class. Every one has the opportunity to make himself all he is capable of.

Ladies and gentlemen, do you believe this can be truthfully said in the greater part of fourteen of the States of this Union to-day which the Democratic party control absolutely? The Republican party is a party of principles, the same principles prevailing wherever it has a foothold. The Democratic party is united in but one thing, and that is in getting control of the Government in all its branches. It is for internal improvement at the expense of the Government in one section and against this in another. It favors repudiation of solemn obligations in one section and honest payment of its debts in another, where public opinion

will not tolerate any other view. It favors fiat money in one place and good money in another. Finally, it favors the pooling of all issues not favored by the Republicans, to the end that it may secure the one principle upon which the party is a most harmonious unit, namely, getting control of the Government in all its branches.

I have been in some part of every State lately in rebellion within the last year. I was most hospitably received at every place where I stopped. My receptions were not by the Union class alone, but by all classes, without distinction. I had a free talk with many who were against me in the war and who have been against the Republican party ever since. They were in all instances reasonable men, judged by what they said. I believed then and believe now that they sincerely want a break-up in this "Solid South" political condition. They see that it is to their pecuniary interest as well as to their happiness that there should be harmony and confidence between all sections. They want to break away from the slavery which binds them to a party name. They want a pretext that enough of them can unite upon to make it respectable. Once started, the Solid South will go as Ku-Kluxism did before, and is so admirably told by Judge Tourgee in his "Fool's Errand." When the break comes those who start it will be astonished to find how many of

their friends have been in favor of it for a long time, and have only been waiting to see some one take the lead. This desirable solution can only be attained by the defeat and continued defeat of the Democratic party as now constituted.

AT JERSEY CITY, OCT 21.

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, 7:30 P. M.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I believe that when I came in you were listening to a very good speech, and I suppose it was a political speech, full of good advice to the people at this time. I hope so, at any rate, and that you were learning good reasons why the Republican party should be successful at the approaching election. I have been traveling around a little, not making speeches, because I cannot make one, but I have heard some in the course of my travels. I have seen the people, too, and I think that I can give to you a full assurance that the Republican ticket at the approaching election is going to have the vote of the Solid North, including New Jersey. It used to be a common saying some years ago that New Jersey was not in the United States; that it was a foreign land; but since that she has redeemed herself on several occasions, and she is going to again prove her allegiance

to the United States on the second of November. I would not say anything, if I could help it, that could be offensive to any Democrat who might be present. I like the Democrats. Some of my best friends are among the Democrats, but then I think that they ought to be satisfied with the Republicans running this Government, at least until such time as they can give better assurances that they would run it in the same way—for the interest of all classes and all sections. During the Democratic war that we had—from 1861 to 1865—I always contended that the Rebels, all of whom were Democrats, were just as much interested in their defeat as we were interested in defeating them. I believe I was right then ; I believe it was the interest of every foot of territory, and every person occupying every foot of territory in this glorious Union, that the Rebellion should be put down, and that we should remain one and a united people. And I believe to-day that every Democrat that is interested in good government is as much interested in their defeat on the second of November as the Republicans are in defeating them. In other words, I believe in the greatest good to the greatest number, and that that good comes from our success. I hope that this audience, ladies and all, unite with me in that sentiment, and that the speaker whom I have interrupted by my entrance at this late hour will convince you of it before he gets

through. I am very much obliged to you for your cordial welcome.

TABERNACLE, 8:30 P. M.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I will do nothing more than thank you for the cordiality of your reception. I have been attending political meetings all the afternoon and evening. I presided over a meeting at Stamford, Connecticut, and was called upon to make a speech. At another meeting in Jersey City this evening I astonished myself by talking five minutes, and I never thought of doing such a thing when I got up. I went so far as to give what I deemed a reason why New Jersey should join the whole North, and why the Democratic party would find it just as much to their interest to be beaten by us as we will find it to our interest to beat them. The Republican party never asks anything for itself which it does not grant to others. If we have three to one in a precinct, we do not forbid the ballot to the fourth man, but we allow him to come up and vote just as he pleases, and we count his vote just as he casts it. Now, all we ask for our carpet-baggers, the colored race, and all others, is that they shall be allowed to vote, to have their ballot counted as they cast it, and not to be turned out of their homes or ostracised. That is all we ask. If

they beat us on this issue we are willing to accept a beating. The beauty of our system of government is that if a bad government gets into power it can be changed the next time there is an election, but if you adopt the shot-gun policy a bad Government may perpetuate the solid South forever. And as every intelligent citizen desires to retain the power of excluding evil governments, that is why New Jersey should follow the suit of all the Northern States.

OPERA HOUSE, 9:30 P. M.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : This is the third political meeting that I have been at in Jersey City this evening, and they were all of them crowded houses. I came out of doors, and all the streets that I have been in were filled with people, from which I conclude that all of New Jersey is in Jersey City this evening. [Laughter.] It being a Republican occasion, an occasion of Republican rejoicing, I suppose they are all rejoicing with us in the successes we have met with in the States that have polled, and the anticipated successes in the States that are to poll; and if all the men that I have seen to-night in your streets cast their votes for the Republican candidate, I do not believe there will be any Democratic votes cast in this city at all. I know that heretofore, when you have been

deficient in Jersey City and Hudson County of Democratic forces—that you were able to get in a few votes after sundown [laughter], keeping your polls open, as you do, to 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening.

But I have no doubt that we will all rejoice together after the second of November, and that we will perpetuate this Government and Union for the benefit of all the people in the country, black and white, male and female, North and South, and make it so that the carpet-baggers can really prosper, do business and be respected and respectable in the Southern States, as they are in the Western States, and help them to build up the South and make it prosperous, as the carpet-baggers of the West have done out there. We are all carpet-baggers—nothing else. Why, it is only quite recently that in the State where I live—where I carpet-bagged to some years ago—had a Governor who was a native of that State. The present Governor of Illinois is a native, and is the first native of the State who has filled the office; yet I respect some of the preceding Governors, though they were carpet-baggers, for they helped to build up and make the State that baby we are so proud of. One county in Illinois—Cook County—and one in Ohio—Hamilton County—was built up entirely by the acts, the providing and the energy of these carpet-baggers, and I venture to say that these counties are

so wealthy that their citizens could afford to buy them right out from the mother State; and not have to sell them again in order to pay for them. What has been the effect of the carpet-bag government in the North-west? Let us hope that after this election carpet-baggers may go freely into the South, build up their waste places, make them happy and rich, introduce free schools—which play havoc with Democracy wherever they go [laughter]; they knock Democracy higher than a kite [renewed laughter]—introduce their free schools, their energy, and their business talent, and we will have a prosperous and happy and Republican South.

AT UTICA, N. Y., OCT. 25.

FREEDOM OF OPINION IN THE SOUTH.

CITIZENS OF UTICA : Under no circumstances will I detain you long, but having a bad cold, and being so hoarse that I can scarcely speak, I shall detain you even a less time. I came here to preside at a political meeting. It is a new business for me, and if it was not for the earnestness I feel for the cause which agitates the public mind at this time I should continue a custom which I have followed for more than fifty years—that is, in not taking part in political meetings. But this country has suffered so much in blood and

treasure to uphold the flag of our Union and maintain the best form of government that has ever been devised for men, that it seemed to me that I could not bear the idea of seeing the country in its legislative and in all its branches turned over to a party composed in great part of those who recently tried to destroy it.

We do not advocate the principles of the Republican party because we believe they are for the good of the Republican party alone, and to the prejudice of the interests of the opposite party; but we proclaim them at this time because we believe they are the best for all parties. We believe that the Democrats are just as much interested to-day in the success of the Republican party as the Republicans of the United States are. We believe further that the Southern States that were lately in rebellion are just as much interested, and more interested, in the success of the Republican party. We all know that there is no man in the South who is not privileged to come and settle among us in the North in any section and retain his political views and at the same time prosecute his business, whether it be professional, mercantile or what not.

The Northern man has not the same privilege in the South. If he goes there to prosecute his business he must be quiet on political questions of great weight.

In other words, the carpet-bagger is not a welcome citizen among them. Now, we want to see all of this changed. I myself am from a Northwestern State. We are all carpet-baggers in that section. The whole of it has been built up in the life-time of many here present; and see the result of carpet-bag settlement in the Northwest. The whole of it, out of which has been grafted five or six fine States is the gift of one of the old slave States! See the prosperity and the thrift that have been brought to these new States by these carpet-baggers! They built up our Cincinnati, our Chicago, our Detroit, our Indianapolis, our Cleveland, and hundreds of smaller towns of great prosperity. With the same privileges extended to carpet-baggers, the growth that has been seen in the Northwest would have been seen ere this in the Southern States. We claim that no great prosperity can overtake these until every citizen of every State is regarded as a citizen of the United States, no matter where he goes, and with the privileges of proclaiming his political principles without molestation.

AT SYRACUSE, N. Y., OCT. 26.

WHY I AM A REPUBLICAN.

CITIZENS OF SYRACUSE: I am here among you to-day at your request, as conveyed to me through your

committee, not to say much myself, but to show my interest in the cause of the Republican party at the approaching election. If I did not feel a deep interest in the success of this party I would not be here. If I did not believe it was for the interest of all parties and all sections that we should succeed at this time, I would not be here. Among the Democrats of the North I have a great many warm personal friends, men whom I like personally as well as any friends I have under the sun. Some of them, those whom I claim as my friends, are patriotic, good men, and I believe if the Democratic party was composed entirely, North and South, of such men I would still be a Republican, but I would not feel as much distress if the Republican party was not successful. But even admitting that all the Democrats in the Northern States were of the class I speak of (but I do not admit it), we would not be secure under a Democratic Administration. You all know that the bulk of the Democracy is in the Southern States, and that it will control if the Democratic party goes into power, and it is just as impossible that the limited number of Democrats of the North should control, as it is that the dog's tail should wag the dog. [Laughter.] In all instances the dog will wag the tail, and if they should get into power that tail would be so powerful that it would sweep down at one stroke all of

your industries and prosperity, all of your banks and your manufactories, and your industries of all sorts and descriptions. We don't want to see this. We all know that the North with its great intelligence, its free schools, its energy and its industry, could not be stricken not to rise again, but in rising it would suffer years of toil and disappointment. We want to avoid that, and to do that we want to elect Garfield and Arthur in November. You will probably hear—probably have heard, and probably will hear again before election day, the Democratic party arraigned as a party that has never advocated, certainly not in a quarter of a century, advocated or done a good act. I will not quite agree with those speakers now, but a few days ago I would. I, within a few days, read an extract from a speech made by a Southern orator, whose audience happened to be composed largely of colored men, and he told them they were laboring under a great mistake in supposing that Lincoln had emancipated them. He reminded them of the fact that Lincoln's emancipation proclamation gave them—the rebels—ninety days in which to lay down their arms and to save their property, "but they fit right straight ahead." He says the proclamation didn't emancipate them, and hence Lincoln was not entitled to the credit of it. Now, gentlemen, I am sure I shall introduce to you a speaker

[General Woodford] who will give you many more reasons than I possibly can why you should support Garfield and Arthur on the second of November next.

TWO SPEECHES AT AUBURN N. Y., OCT. 26.

REPUBLICANS WIDE AWAKE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am convinced from all I hear and see that the people—the Republicans—are wide awake as to their best interests at this election. They will return the power into the hands of the people who saved the country in time of danger. We are not ready at this time to surrender the interests of this country into the hands of those who have for twenty years endeavored to destroy it. They must give up the principles for which Lee and Jackson fought before we will receive their system of doctrine. Before it will be safe to surrender our convictions, they must give up the doctrine of State Rights. The Democrats felt sure of 138 electoral votes at Cincinnati, no matter what nomination might be made. The Democratic party does not care a cent for a platform. If a Republican had been sent to the Cincinnati Convention to dictate a platform they would have accepted it. Any platform that would secure forty-seven electoral votes was what they wanted. The Republican party

permits a ballot to be cast by every voter. When beaten by a ballot so cast, they will surrender, and will submit to whatever may happen.

General Grant was then conducted across the street to the other wigwam, where he spoke as follows :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN : I have just come from the wigwam across the way, where I spoke much longer than I can hope to here, and I do not know that I can say anything more than to thank you. I had one advantage at my last stopping place, as I saw no reporter present, and am sure I will not get reported. [Laughter.] But I will testify to you that I believe the best interests of the country demand, and the great uprising we have witnessed all through this country in the last two weeks, and the joy we witness here to-day, all indicate that the people of this country are determined to maintain intact the country for which we fought, and for the principles for which we sacrificed so much. I am sure I can say nothing more, and am certain not so well, on the subject as the speakers you have with you to-day, and who will formulate and prove this proposition. I believe that on the second of November this great State of New York is going to cast her vote for Garfield and Authur, and so surely as she does, they will be elected. I thank you for your attention.





GENERAL GARFIELD.

AT CHICAGO, JUNE 9.

GENERAL GARFIELD OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF HIS NOMINATION.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I assure you the information you have officially given to me brings the sense of very grave responsibility, and especially so in view of the fact that I was a member of your body, a fact that could not have existed with propriety, had I had the slightest expectation that my name would be connected with the nomination for the office. I have felt with you great solicitude concerning the situation of our party during the struggle; but, believing that you are correct in assuring me that substantial unity has been reached in the conclusion, it gives me a gratification far greater than any personal pleasure your announcement can bring.

I accept the trust committed to my hands. As to the work of our party, and as to the character of the campaign to be entered upon, I will take an early occasion to reply more fully than I can properly do to-night.



I thank you for the assurances of confidence and esteem you have presented to me, and hope we shall see our future as promising as are the indications to-night.

AT WASHINGTON, JUNE 16.

A SERENADE.

FELLOW CITIZENS : While I have looked upon this great array I believe I have gotten a new idea of the majesty of the American people. When I reflect that whenever you find sovereign power every reverent heart on this earth bows before it ; and when I remember that here for a hundred years we have denied the sovereignty of any one man ; and in place of it we have asserted the sovereignty of all in place of one. I see before me so vast a concourse that it is easy for me to imagine that the rest of the American people are gathered here to-night. And if they were all here every man would stand uncovered and in unsandaled feet in presence of the majesty of the only sovereign power in this Government under Almighty God. And therefore to this great audience I pay the respectful homage that in part belongs to the sovereignty of the public. I thank you for this great and glorious demonstration. I am not for one moment misled into believing that it refers to so poor a thing as any one of our number. I know it means your reverence to your

Government, your reverence for its laws, your reverence for its institutions, and your compliment to one who is placed for a moment in relation to you of peculiar importance. For all these reasons I thank you. I cannot, at this time, utter a word on the subject of general politics. I would not mar the cordiality of this welcome to which to some extent all are gathered by any reference except to the present moment and its significance ; but I wish to say that a large portion of this assemblage to-night are my comrades late of the war for the Union. For them I can speak with entire propriety, and can say that these very streets heard the measured tread of your disciplined feet years ago when the imperiled Republic needed your hands and your hearts to save it. And you came back with your members decimated, but those you left behind were immortal and glorified heroes forever ; and those you brought back came carrying under tattered banners and in bronzed hands the ark of the covenant of your Republic in safety out of the bloody baptism of the war, and you brought it in safety to be saved forever by your valor and the wisdom of your brethren who were at home, and by this you were again added to the great civil army of the Republic. I greet you, comrades and fellow-soldiers, and the great body of distinguished citizens who are gathered here to-night, who are the strong stay and support of the business,

of the prosperity, of the peace, of the civic ardor and glory of the Republic, and I thank you for your welcome to-night. It was said in a welcome to one who came to England to be a part of her glory, and all the nation spoke when it was said: "Normans and Saxons and Danes are we, but all of us Danes in our welcome of thee;" and we say to-night of all the nation, of all the people, soldiers and civilians, there is one name that welds us all into one. It is the name of the American citizen under the Union, and under the glory of the flag that led us to victory and to peace. For this magnificent welcome, I thank you with all there is in my heart.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

AN ABLE STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

MENTOR, O., July 12.

DEAR SIR: On the evening of the 9th of June last I had the honor to receive from you in the presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me as their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially

indorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the Convention. On nearly all the subjects of which it treats, my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion.

Without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war, it should be said that while the Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people, and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation with ample power of self-preservation; that its Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the Nation to determine the method by which its own Legislature shall be created cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of government; that the National laws relating to the election of Representatives in Congress shall neither be violated nor evaded; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation

to cast his lawful ballot at such election and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have a common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore perfect peace to those who were lately in arms against each other; for justice and good-will will outlast passion. But it is certain that the wounds of the war cannot be completely healed, and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and equal enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of these rights is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils; for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all. The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action

that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

POPULAR EDUCATION.

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither freedom nor justice can be permanently maintained. Its interests are intrusted to the States and to the voluntary action of the people. Whatever help the Nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools; but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the Nation, or of the States, to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute.

THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

On the subject of National finances, my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced by refunding, that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application

of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens, and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldiers of the Union, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defense. The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as National as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments.

THE TARIFF.

In reference to our custom laws a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our

great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, and not for the whole world, and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people with their abundant natural resources possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the Government to provide for the common defense, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Fortunately for the interests of commerce there is no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of National importance. The Mississippi River, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the Nation the control of all its waters, President Jeffer-

son negotiated the purchase of a vast territory, extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of 25,000,000 of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great watercourses.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to immigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population. The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an immigration either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restriction; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent

to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject the present Administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a Commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful, without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two Powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt, and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the Constitution has imposed on the Executive. The Convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the Executive Departments in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that with our frequent changes of administration no system

of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground for complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for the civil service. But, without invading the authority or necessary discretion of the Executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office, and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency and faithfulness. To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled, requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The Executive should, therefore, seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice.

The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election; they are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment these

principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way.

If elected it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the Constitution and the laws, and to promote, as best I may, the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God. With great respect,

I am very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

To the Hon. GEO. F. HOAR, Chairman of Committee.

AT GENEVA, OHIO, AUG. 3.

DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT.

FELLOW CITIZENS: These gentlemen had no right to print on a paper here that I was to make a speech; for the types ought always to tell the truth, and they have not done it in this case. But I cannot look out upon a great audience in Ashtabula County, recognizing so many old faces and friends, without at least making my bow to them, and saying "good-bye" before I go.

I cannot, either, hear such a speech as that to which I have just listened, without thanking the man who made it and the people who enabled him to make it, for after all no man can make a speech alone. It is

the great human power that strikes up from a thousand minds that acts upon him and makes the speech. It originates with those outside of him, if he makes one at all, and every man that has stood on this platform to-day has had a speech made out of him by you, and by what is yonder on your square. That is the way speeches are made, and if I had time to stay here long enough these forces with you might make one out of me.

Ideas are the only thing in this universe that are immortal. Some people think that soldiers are chiefly renowned for courage. That is one of the cheapest and commonest qualities. We share it with the brutes. I can find you dogs and bears and lions that will fight to the death, and will tear each other. Do you call that warfare? They are as courageous as any of the soldiers, if mere brute courage is what you are after. The difference between them and us is this: Tigers never hold reunions to celebrate their victories. When they have eaten the creature they have killed, that is the only reunion they ever hold. Wild beasts never build monuments over their slain comrades. Why? Because there are no ideas behind their warfare.

Our race has ideas; and because ideas are immortal, if they be true, we build monuments to them. We hold reunions, not for the dead, for there is nothing in all the earth that you and I can do for the dead. They are past our help and past our praise. We can

add to them no glory and we can give to them no immortality. They do not need us, but forever and forever more we need them. The glory that trailed in the clouds behind them after their sun had set, falls with its benediction upon us who are living ; and it is to commemorate the immortality of the ideas for which they fought that you assemble to-day and dedicate your monument, which points up toward the God who leads them in the glory of the great world beyond. And around those ideas, under the leadership of the immortality of those ideas, we assemble to-day reverently to follow, reverently to acknowledge the glory they achieved, and the benediction they left behind them.

That is the meaning of an assembly like this ; and to join in it, and to meet you, my old neighbors and constituents ; to share with you the memories that we have heard rehearsed, and the inspiration that this day points to, that this monument celebrates, is to me a joy, and for it I am grateful to you.

AT 241 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y., AUG. 6.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ROOMS.

COMRADES OF THE BOYS IN BLUE AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I cannot look upon this great assemblage and these old veterans that have

marched past us, and listen to the words of welcome from our comrade who has just spoken, without remembering how great a thing it is to live in this Union and be a part of it. This is New York, and yonder toward the Battery more than a hundred years ago, a young student of Columbia College was arguing the ideas of the American revolution, and American union against the un-American loyalty to monarchy of his college president and professors. By-and-by he went into the patriot army, was placed on the staff of Washington to fight the battles of his country, and while in camp, before he was twenty-one years old, upon a drum-head he wrote a letter which contained every germ of the Constitution of the United States. That student, soldier, statesman and great leader of thought, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, made this Republic glorious by his thinking, and left his lasting impress upon New York, the foremost State of the Union. And here on this island, the scene of his early triumphs, we gather to-night, soldiers of the new war, representing the same ideas of union and glory, and adding to the column of the monument that Hamilton and Washington and the heroes of the Revolution reared.

Gentlemen, ideas outlive men. Ideas outlive all earthly things, and you who fought in the War for the Union fought for immortal ideas, and by their might

you crowned our war with victory. But victory was worth nothing except for the fruits that were under it, in it and above it. We meet to-night as veterans and comrades to stand sacred guard around the truths for which we fought. And while we have life to meet and grasp the hand of a comrade we will stand by the great truths of that war. And, comrades, among the convictions of that war which have sunk deep into our hearts, there are some that we can never forget. Think of the great elevating spirit of the war itself. We gathered the boys from all our farms, and shops and stores, and schools, and homes, from all over the Republic, and they went forth unknown to fame, but returned enrolled on the roster of immortal heroes. They went in the spirit of those soldiers of Henry at Agincourt, of whom he said:

“Who this day sheds his blood with me,
To-day shall be my brother. Were he ne’er so vile
This day shall gentle his condition.”

And it did gentle the condition and elevate the heart of every worthy soldier who fought in it, and he shall be our brother forevermore. Another thing we will remember; we will remember our allies who fought with us. Soon after the great struggle began we looked behind the army of white rebels, and saw 4,000,000 of black people condemned to toil as slaves for our enemies; and we found that the hearts of this

4,000,000 were God-inspired with the spirit of liberty, and that they were our friends. We have seen white men betray the flag and fight to kill the Union ; but in all that long, dreary war we never saw a traitor in a black skin. Our prisoners escaping from the starvation of prison, fleeing to our lines by the light of the North star, never feared to enter the black man's cabin and ask for bread. In all that period of suffering and danger no Union soldier was ever betrayed by a black man or woman. And now that we have made them free, so long as we live we will stand by these black allies. We will stand by them until the sun of liberty, fixed in the firmament of our Constitution, shall shine with equal ray upon every man, black or white, throughout the Union. Now, fellow-citizens, fellow-soldiers, in this there is all the beneficence of eternal justice, and by this we will stand forever. The great poet has said that in individual life we rise "On stepping stones of our dead selves to higher things," and the Republic rises on the glorious achievements of its dead and living heroes to a higher and nobler national life. We must stand guard over our past, as soldiers, as patriots, and over our country as common heritage of us all.

I thank you, fellow-citizens, for this magnificent demonstration. In so far as I represent in my heart and life the great doctrines for which you fought I

accept this demonstration as a tribute to my representative character. In the strength of your hands, in the fervor of your hearts, in the firmness of your faith, in all that betokens greatness of manhood and nobleness of character, the Republic finds its security and glory. I do not enter upon controverted questions. The time, the place, the situation forbid it. I respect the traditions that require me to speak only of these themes which elevate us all. Again I thank you for the kindness and enthusiasm of your greeting.

AT PORT JERVIS, N. Y., AUG. 7.

THE UNION AND NOBILITY OF LABOR.

I have learned in the last few minutes two facts concerning this part of the country that are very interesting to me, and if I lived here I would suggest to all your citizens to take their young men for a pilgrimage to two places in your neighborhood. On the right, over these hills, is a stone placed to mark the spot where three States touch each other. Those three States, each representing local interests and associations, are worthy of your thought; but I would point the young men of your town to the stone which represents the Union. I would point it out to them as a symbol of that larger union of our people and States—that grand system of supreme government—and I

would teach them to reverence it. That would be my first lesson to the young men. Then I would take them to the other side of your railroad to the little hamlet not far away, which was pointed out to me as the spot where in the last century DeWitt Clinton was born. A man whose life was baptised in the spirit of the Union and helped to build up its glory; a man who illustrated the nobility of labor by building up the great system of canals that has done so much for the Empire State. Show to your children the Union and DeWitt Clinton and teach them that with the Union and free labor we are a nation that can stand worthily before the world.

AT BINGHAMPTON, N. Y., AUG. 7.

HIS FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: What is one man among this multitude? What can one man do in the presence of these thousands, these acres of people? What can one man say adequate to such a greeting, to such a welcome? I know of no man who could make an adequate response. Certainly my voice cannot reach you; but I have stepped out for a moment to thank you, and to say how heartily I rejoice in the greeting of the happy and prosperous people of this city. Years ago I was among you, and I remember your intelli-

gence and hospitality. This part of New York has associations and traditions for me I can never forget. Not many miles from this place is the spot where my father was born, and I have ever desired to visit it, but I am probably as near to it now as I shall be on this journey. Fellow-citizens, there is no topic that I can now discuss; there is no subject upon which I can now address you; I can only thank you for this magnificent demonstration of welcome, and express a hope that this great assemblage means a tribute to our country's integrity and prosperity, the prosperity and the dignity of labor, and the harmony and peace of our own people under liberty and law.

AT CHAUTAUQUA, N. Y., AUGUST 9.

TWO GREAT PROBLEMS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have done so much to me since I arrived on this shore, that I am quite unable to tell what sort of a man I am this morning. I had never been here, and really did not know what you were doing. Last evening, I asked Mr. Vincent rather brusquely to tell me what Chautauqua means; what your work here means; and he filled me so full of your idea, that I have not yet assimilated it, so as to be quite sure what manner of man I am, since

I got hold of it; but this I see—you are struggling with one of the two great problems of civilization.

The first one is a very old question. It is, "How shall we get leisure?" That is the object of every hammer stroke, of every blow that labor has struck since the foundation of the world. The fight for bread is the great primal fight, and it is so absorbing a struggle that until one conquers to some extent he can have no leisure. We may divide the struggles of the human race into two chapters: First, the fight to get leisure; and, second, what to do with our leisure when we have won it. I take it that Chautauqua has assailed this second problem. Like all blessings, leisure is a very bad thing unless it is well used. The man with a fortune ready made, and with leisure on his hands, is likely to get sick of the world, sick of himself, tired of life and become a wasted, useless man.

What shall you do with your leisure? I understand Chautauqua is trying to answer, to explore the field of thought, to develop new energies, largeness of mind and culture in the better sense, "with the varnish scratched off," as our friend, Governor Kirkwood, says. We are getting over the fashion of painting and varnishing our natural woods. We are getting down to the real grain, and finding whatever is best and most beautiful in it; and if Chautauqua is helping

to develop in our people the native stuff that is in them rather than to give them the varnish and gewgaws of culture, it is doing well. Chautauqua, therefore, has filled me with thought; and, in addition to that, you have filled me with gratitude for your kindness and for this great spontaneous greeting in the early morning—earlier than men of leisure usually get up. Some of these gentlemen of the Press around me look distressed at this early rising, by which you have compelled our whole party to look at the early sun. This greeting on the lake slope toward the sun is very precious to me, and I thank you all.

This is a mixed audience of citizens, and I will not offend the proprieties of the occasion by discussing controverted questions or entering upon any political discussion. I look in the faces of men of all shades of opinion; but whatever our party affiliations, I trust there is in all this audience the love of your beneficent institutions which make it possible for free labor to earn leisure, and for our institutions to make that leisure worth something. Our Union and our institutions under the blessings of equal laws—equal to all colors and all conditions—open a career for every man, however humble, to rise to whatever place the power of a strong arm, the strength of a clear head, and the aspirations of a pure heart can lift him. That prospect ought to inspire every young man in this vast audience.

I heard yesterday and last night the songs of those who were lately redeemed from slavery, and I felt that there, too, was one of the greatest triumphs of the Republic. I believe in the efficiency of forces that come down from the ages behind us, and I wondered if the tropical sun had not distilled its sweetness and if the sorrows of centuries of slavery had not distilled its sadness into voices which were touchingly sweet—voices to sing the songs of liberty as they sing them wherever they go. I thank that choir for the lesson they have taught me here. And now, fellow-citizens, thanking you all, good-bye.

AT MEADVILLE, PA., AUG. 9.

OUR NATION'S INVITATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I am so near the borders of my old district that I feel very much at home with you. As I have been passing through your town, two thoughts have struck me which recalled something to my mind. When I was in Paris, at the Exposition of 1867, among all the wonderful sights that greeted me there, nothing impressed me so much as two little buildings outside the great Exposition building in the

inclosure. One of them was an American schoolhouse, furnished with all the appliances of education; the other was an American farmhouse, plain, cheap and comfortable, that some thoughtful American had put up on French ground. An exhibitor in charge told visitors, among whom were crowned heads and people of Europe, in our country on every section of land there is a schoolhouse like this that every child can go to without cost, and every man who will go to our Western country can, for about \$500, build himself a farmhouse like that, and the Government gives him the farm. Come to our country, said he, and with your own labor you can make a home, and the nation to which you come will give you the land for your home and educate your children free.

These were two sights that greeted me. Inside the building I saw the machinery that was exhibited at the World's Fair, the glory of American artisanship, and I said, These three things constitute the material, intellectual and domestic glory of our people. Now, when I come into your town I see your venerable college looking down upon us. It is the representative of one of these ideas. I look upon your shops and see your industry representing another, and I see your homes scattered all around us; so that you have the trinity of forces that help to make us a great Nation, and you an intelligent and prosperous people. With

these thoughts, I thank you, fellow citizens, for this great welcome.

AT ASHLAND, OHIO, AUG. 25.

RE-UNION OF THE GENERAL'S REGIMENT.

FELLOW CITIZENS: This is a family gathering, a military family, for in war a regiment is to the army what a family is to the whole civilized community. [Here a portion of the platform fell.] A military reunion without some excitement and some accident would be altogether too monotonous and tame to be interesting, and in this good-natured audience we can have a good many accidents like that and still keep quiet and be happy. I said this is a family reunion—an assembly of the old Forty-second military family, and it is well for us to meet here. Nineteen years ago I met a crowd of earnest citizens in that court-room above stairs. Your bell was rung; your people came out; the teacher of your school was among them; the boys of the school were there; and after we had talked together a little while about our country and its imperiled flag, the teacher of the school offered himself to his country, and twenty of his boys with him. They never went back into the schoolhouse again, but in the dark days of November, 1861, they and enough Ashland County boys to make 100 went

down with me to Columbus to join another hundred that had gone before them from Ashland County, and these 200 of your children stood in the centre of our military family and bore these old banners that you see tattered before you to-day. One of them was given to our family by the ladies of Ashland, and Company C., from Ashland, carried it well. It was riddled with bullets and torn by underbrush. Flapped by winds of the Rebellion, it came back tattered as you see, but with never a stain upon its folds, and never a touch of dishonor upon it anywhere; and the other of these banners was given by the special friends of Company A in my old town of Hiram—the student company from the heart of the Western Reserve—and it also shared, like its fellows, the same fate, and came home covered with the glory of the conflict.

We were a family, I say again, and we did not let partisan politics disturb us then, and we do not let partisanship enter our circle here to-day. We did not quarrel about controversies outside of our great work. We agreed to be brethren for the Union under the flag against all its enemies everywhere, and brothers to all men who stood with us under the flag to fight the fight for the Union, whatever their color of skin, whatever their previous politics, whatever their religion. In that spirit we went out, in that spirit we returned; and we are glad to be in Ashland to-day, for it is one of

the homes of our regiment, where we were welcomed in the beginning, and have always been welcome since. We are grateful for the welcome tendered us to-day by this great assembly of our old neighbors and friends of Ashland County.

Now, fellow-citizens, a regiment, like a family, has the right to be a little clannish and exclusive. It does not deny the right of any other family to the same privileges, but it holds the members of its own family a little nearer and a little dearer than any other family in the world, and so the Forty-second Regiment has always been a band of brothers. I do not this day know a Forty-second man in the world who hates another Forty-second man. There never was a serious quarrel inside the regiment. There was never a serious disagreement between its officers. The worst thing I have ever heard said against it is that all its three field officers came home alive—and they are all here on this stand to-day. It was perhaps a little against us that no one of us had the honor to get killed or seriously crippled, but we hold that it was not altogether our fault, and we trust that some day or other you will have forgiven us, if you have not to-day, for being alive and all here together.

I want to say another thing about the soldier's work. I know of nothing in all the circle of human duty that

so unites men as the common suffering and danger and struggle that war brings upon a regiment. You cannot know a man so thoroughly and so soon as by the tremendous tests to which the war subjects him. These men knew each other by sight long before they knew each other by heart, but before they got back home they knew each other as you sometimes say you know a song—by heart, for they had been tested by fire, they had been tested by starvation, they had been tested by the grim presence of death, and each knew that those who remained were Union men, men that in all the hard, close chances of life had the stuff in them that enabled them to stand up in the very extremes they did, and stand up ready to die, and such men, so tried and so acquainted never got over it, and the rest of the world must permit them to be just a little clannish toward each other. The rest of the world will not think we are narrow when they consider this fault of ours.

Now, fellow-citizens, we are here to look into faces and enjoy your hospitality, to revive our old memories of the place ; but, far more than anything else, to look into each other's faces and revive old memories of a great many places less pleasing and home-like than Ashland. We have been meeting together in this way nearly fifteen years, and we have made a pledge to each other that as long as there are two of

us left to shake hands we will meet and greet the survivors. Some of us felt a little hurt about ten years ago when the papers spoke of us as the survivors of the Forty-second regiment. We were the survivors, it is true, but we thought we were so surviving that it need not be put as though we were about to die now. I don't know how it is with the rest of you ; most of mankind grow old, and you can see it in their faces. I see here and there a bald head like my own, or a white one like Captain Gardner's, but to me these men will be boys until they die. We call them boys ; we meet and greet them as boys, even though they become very old boys, and in that spirit of young, hopeful, daring manhood we expect to meet them so long as we live. Nothing can get us a great way off from each other while we live. I am glad to meet these men here to-day.

These men went out without one single touch of revenge in their hearts. They went out to maintain this Union and make it immortal, to put their own immortal lives into it, and make it possible that the people of Ashland should make the monogram of the United States as you see it up there [pointing to the monogram on the building, a wreath with "Union" inside of a very large N.], a capital N that stands for Nation, a Nation so large that it includes U. S. A., all the people of the Republic, and will include it forever-

more ; that is what we meant then, and it is what we mean now. And now, fellow-citizens and soldiers of the Forty-second regiment—for I have been talking mainly to you, and if any of this crowd have overheard I am not particularly to blame for it—I say, fellow-citizens and comrades, I greet you to-day with great satisfaction, and bid you a cordial good-by.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, SEPT. 4.

THE NATION'S PROSPERITY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I can hardly say that you have taken me by surprise, for I was informed some days ago that a party of commercial gentlemen from Indiana would call upon me to-day; but I am very pleasantly surprised at the large number of ladies and gentlemen who have honored me by this visit. I have listened with deep interest to the address of your chairman, and I give you one and all my thanks for the compliment which this visit implies.

Your chairman informs me that you represent nearly all the leading branches of commercial industry in the State of Indiana, and some of the neighboring States. Few of our people understand how vast are the enterprises represented by our internal trade. Almost every form of human labor contributes its products to

the trade that fills our thoroughfares and supplies our communities with the necessities of life, and are all moved by the grand mainspring—labor. Permit me to illustrate its magic powers. Eighty-four years ago a company of forty-two surveyors landed at the mouth of Conneaut Creek, a little stream that marks the boundary between Pennsylvania and Ohio. They landed on the Fourth day of July, 1796, and begun their work by celebrating our National Independence. There are many now living who were boys in their teens when this company of surveyors began their work. At that time from the Pennsylvania line to Detroit hardly a smoke ascended from a white man's cabin. The Western Reserve was an unbroken wilderness. Three millions of acres had just been purchased from the State of Connecticut for forty cents an acre. To-day the Western Reserve furnishes happy and comfortable homes to more than three-fourths of a million of intelligent people. Except a French settlement, the State of Indiana was itself an unbroken wilderness, but is now a great and prosperous community, and thousands of miles beyond yon prairies the wilderness and mountain slopes smile with peace, prosperity and the attendant blessings of civilization.

What has wrought this wonderful transformation? The magical power of human labor through manifold struggles and dangers, through suffering and blood.

These blessings have been secured to us, and, I trust, will be continued to our children's children. I venture to notice another fact. Every stroke of the axe, every blow of the hammer, every turn of a wheel, every purchase and sale, in short, every effort of labor is measured by the standard of value fixed and declared by National law. I congratulate you as commercial men that your Government has at last restored to its people the ancient standard of value, and has made it possible for our people everywhere to secure the blessing which bountiful harvests and prosperous times have brought them by placing our National finances on the solid basis of specie values. This fact forms no inconsiderable part of the security with which the great business transactions of the Nation are carried on, and you, as its representatives, as well as the laborers of the land, are sharers of these benefits and this security. Ladies and gentlemen, accept my most cordial thanks for your visit. I welcome you to my home and to the kind greetings of my family.

AT TOLEDO, OHIO, SEPT. 24.

THE REGULARS AND VOLUNTEERS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND COMRADES OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND: I am sure there is not one of you here to-night that does not feel the inspiration of

the evening, does not recognize that you are better, brighter, tenderer and truer for having sat here the last hour and heard these strong words of Union sentiment, this glorious inspiration the poetry and beautiful recitation have given us all. The best war is horrible, but to have known what you have known, to have seen what you have seen, to have felt the inspiration as you have felt, as part of your service in the war, is a bitterness in your life that you can never fail to recognize. Glance around at the names on this gallery. There is not one that does not bring out with light and fire the old recollections. To have known some of these men who are named here was a liberal education in itself. To have known Phil Sheridan's horse, yonder, was to make a great acquaintance, and a great idea, and a large inspiration, but to have known Phil on his horse was to have had an epitome on the glory of war and the sublimity of victory. These are some of the meanings that this night teaches me, that makes me rejoice to be here with my old comrades again. But then, as we glance around this circle of names, there comes down to us the information that one by one they are dropping out from the list of the living, but yet are seen as stars in the firmament of National glory.

Less than a year ago the Army of the Cumberland and its deliberations were presided over by one who is

now among the dead. That brave and noble comrade of ours who presided around the statue of Thomas left us only a few weeks after he gave us the hand of farewell. One by one rapidly they are going. It becomes us to gather these glories into our hearts, to bind up into a small sheaf the glory and friendship of those who live together into the garland of our history, to the glory of those who are gone. Look at that name yonder, at the centre, who was always the centre of the Army of the Cumberland while he was in it, and I think I see in it more of the crystallized mould of all that is living and great and worthy in American character than can well be found in the compass of all our books. The Army of the Cumberland opened that great central pathway that approached almost from the Mississippi bank back and along the chain of mountains that divides the Atlantic from our central slope.

Starting here on our own Southern line, the Ohio River, the Army took first its name, "The Army of the Ohio," but as it advanced down to the heart of the work, it took the name of the great river that cut across its boundary, just in front of Stone River, and it was the business of that Army to pierce the centre. When it had broken a course through the very heart of the Gulf States, the old army corps swept to the East further, and came back through the Carolinas

and passed in review before the President at Washington, came home in peace and glory again, and got largely back into the State of Ohio when they were through. There are two thoughts embodied in your Army of the Cumberland that it seems to me we might remember. You know at times there was a feeling, between the volunteer and regular army, of jealousy. It was reserved for the Army of the Cumberland to unite these elements in fraternal bonds. We came at last to know that if you wanted a man for any kind of work you wanted a trained man. If you wanted a man trained in the science of war he must be a man trained in all its mystery, educated in the pure science, such as was embodied in Thomas and Sheridan and the other men who were educated in war. But the genius of our Government went further than that. Behind our Military Academy, below our regular army, there lay this magnificent body of cultivated, thinking, independent private citizens, who, when their country was in danger, sprang to war, not as a profession, but as a dreadful necessity, volunteered their life, talent, force, all, in that glorious service under the leadership of those who were trained, and the united regulars and volunteers made the Army of the Cumberland an irresistible army against any equal body of men to be found on the globe. The spirit of the two elements was never better exhibited than at Chicka-

mauga, as you have heard in the poem. Thomas stood like a rock, the centre of that mighty fight; and yet, with all that behind him, in front of him, all around him, in fact were the gallant, courageous volunteers, making the elements of science, art and courage triumphant in the fight. Think of it for a moment, and I take pleasure in referring to it. Here, away off on the hills, posted at a special post to do a special charge, were some three Ohio brigades, and when their commander heard the sound of cannon on the 20th of September at Chickamauga, he could not lie by and guard a bridge. Gordon Granger, with J. B. Steadman as second, marched to the sound of the cannon until they came into the fight. When riding forward they asked Thomas, "Where shall we go in?" The answer in two monosyllables only, "You see." A force almost in his rear, a force on his flank. The three Ohio brigades, the most of whom had never heard the sound of a hostile shot, filled the gap. Not less than 700 were dead and wounded in forty minutes fighting, but they protected the flank, making them a living wall of fire around Thomas. There was the practiced, trained soldier, and with him the enthusiasm of the independent, thinking volunteer, that made our war triumphant and victorious. I honor them both—both elements—and am glad to know that the Army of the Cumberland has always generously recognized

both of these arms of our great service. My heart is rejoiced to be with you, and I am glad to look into the faces of these men and recognize them as old comrades of the Army of the Cumberland.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, OCT. 8.

THE PURITY OF THE BALLOT-BOX.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND YOUNG GENTLEMEN : This is no ordinary event in the history of any man—indeed, in the history of any people—when, as I am told, there are 400 young men here who have made this journey, not for any personal purpose, but to express their great, general, earnest purpose that arises in the hearts of active, intelligent young men when they first grapple with the great questions of their country. I know of nothing quite like this in our history. With all the pleasure it brings I am bound to say it brings a little disenchantment to me in this. Always to this time I have been accustomed to consider myself a young man. [Laughter and applause]. If before your arrival anybody had raised the question, I should have asserted, with a good deal of indignation, if anybody had denied it, that I myself was a young man.

But they tell me you are to cast your first National vote at a Presidential election. If that is so, young man as I am, I voted before any of you were born. [Laughter and applause]. If you are young, and voters, borrowing the language of Rip Van Winkle when he awoke from that long sleep, "Who in the world am I?" [Laughter and applause]. I must have passed the very flush of youth, at least. But, young gentlemen, I have not so far left the coast of youth to travel inland but that I can very well remember the state of young manhood, from an experience in it of some years, and there is nothing to me in this world so inspiring as the possibilities that lie locked up in the head and breast of a young man. The hopes that lie before him, the great inspirations around him, the great aspirations above him, all these things, with the untried pathway of life opening up its difficulties and dangers, inspire him to courage and force and work. It is a spectacle that the very gods would look down upon in ancient Roman days with more than ordinary interest.

Now, let me say a single word or two, in answer to this great kindness and compliment of your coming to my house, about some of the thoughts that I know get into the hearts of young men and inspire them, and some delusions that are likely to get into their minds. Let me speak of one delusion that I think, from the re-

marks of your Chairman, you are not likely to have. It is a delusion that affects all men more or less, particularly the young men—the delusion that good things and great things are some way off yonder, away abroad. That is one of the delusions that I hope you are not living in now. To illustrate this. Where I spent my childhood there is a lonely little brook and a gorge where we used to go down and find slate stones and whittle them out into pencils for ourselves that were better than all other pencils that we brought from abroad. But if any boy ever brought into our school what is not in any English dictionary, but in the 'school-boy's dictionary, a "boughten" pencil, he could get a whole handful of our home-made pencils for it, and yet every one of ours was better than the best that he brought from abroad. There was a delusion among us that outside of us, away from us, was glory, was greatness.

Now, as to our country, let us not get any such delusion into our heads. I know all about abroad. I know what it is to enlarge our minds by it. But I want you to feel in the depths of your heart that there is no abroad in all this world that is half equal to the glory of being an American here at home and to-day. [Great applause.] Right here in this yard is a splendid specimen of American sovereignty, the root and crown of this world of sovereignty. Enlarge it into

the million of men who vote and you have the grand, august sovereign of this last and best born of time, the American Republic. Now that the sovereign shall be unshackled forever, that that sovereign shall be unpurchasable when he stands at the ballot-box to order the supreme will of the Nation, that that sovereign shall be unintimidated by mortal man when he utters that final omnific word that commands the continent—that is the great purpose that all true Americans should keep in their minds.

When I see such a band of earnest young men as meet me here to-day I feel certain that if they could deploy themselves as a ballot-box guard to defend the purity of the American ballot-box; to stand around it as around the cradle of our heir-apparent of American sovereignty, such guardians, such defenders, will keep the Republic pure and keep it free.

Young gentlemen, your visit to me gives me a compliment of the highest sort, and while it disenchant me, as I said a little while ago, it still reaches the hand of youth out to me, which I take with all cordiality and earnestness; and for your tendered support to me, which is not for my sake, but for the sake of the cause of which I am now the representative, I give you all the thanks of which my heart is capable. The house is small, the farm is small, the township is small, the county is a small one, but all there is in it to give

of generosity, and hospitality and welcome—all that is in my hands to give—is yours while you stay. I bid you welcome to all there is of us, gentlemen.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, OCTOBER 15.

TO BUSINESS MEN.

MR. ELY AND GENTLEMEN OF CLEVELAND : This is a new situation, and new sensations and suggestions arise with it. I should be altogether unworthy of this State and of my native country if I did not feel deep sensibility at this expression of your confidence in me, and all this greater, more significant expression of your understanding of what the great contest now pending in this country means in its relation to our prosperity.

You are business men of Cleveland, and that means a great deal ; you are citizens of Ohio, and that means more ; you are citizens of the Republic, and that means a great deal more, and in your three-fold capacity I greet you and thank you for this demonstration of your confidence.

Let me speak a moment about these three thoughts : You are business men, suppose, not this yardfull

alone, but all the business men of America were assembled together. What would they do? Rather, what would they not do if they got from the Eternal Powers an insurance policy that four years to come there should be no disturbance in the great forces that play upon the business prosperity of this people? The power that could underwrite such a policy to you would call from you more sacrifice in a mere business sense than you ever made under any circumstances. Now, no such guaranty will be given you by the supernatural powers; but while frosts, pestilence, tempests and all the great accidents that come to us without our power to prevent it, are beyond our reach, yet there is a great political organization in this country that can give you a policy, underwritten by its faith and in its own hand, against all the evils that can come to you from bad legislation and the reckless wickedness of bad finance.

For such a business insurance, the business men of Cleveland and the business men of America are manifestly willing to make some effort and bear some sacrifice, and that, I take it, is the business meaning of this assemblage here to-day.

Now, the second thought I had was: You are citizens of Ohio and you are living illustrations of the first children of the pioneers who planted Ohio.

When your fathers were born Ohio was unknown, except as a trackless wilderness, and yet where the smoke from not a dozen white men's cabins ascended to the sky in all this territory, now three and a quarter millions of happy people, prosperous, honorable and successful, are living and guiding the destinies of a people as great in numbers and wealth as all who inhabited the thirteen colonies when our fathers won their independence. What a spectacle is that? And all this prosperity was won by the simple, straightforward process of downright hard work. That was what did it. Labor first laid out on the raw materials that God made, and then capital, which is only another name for crystallized labor saved up, protected and saved by the strong arms of equal and just and honest laws. Now, that is Ohio.

Well, now, there is a third and larger thought. Proud as you are of what you have been and what you have done for Cleveland, for Ohio—yet your pride rises at a little piece of bunting, a flag with stars and stripes upon it. That speaks of a great continent with a Government that covers it from sea to sea, from the Lakes to the Gulf, and that you, as citizens of that Republic, have a right to walk on every foot of it as the equal of any man who lives anywhere, and that the score of black men that I see here and there have just as good a right as the whitest of us all.

Now, these are the thoughts that come to me as I look upon these Cuyahoga faces.

AT CLEVELAND, O., OCT. 19.

INDIANA GREET'S GARFIELD.

GENTLEMEN : You have come as bearers of dispatches, so your Chairman tells me, and I am glad to see the bringers of the news. Your uniform, the name of your club and the place from which you come are all full of suggestions. You recollect the verses that were often quoted about the old Continental soldiers—the old three-cornered hat and the breeches, and all that were so queer. Your costume brings back to our memory the days of the Continentals of 1776, whose principles I hope you represent. You are called the Lincoln Club, and Lincoln was himself a revival, a restoration of the days of '76 and their doctrines. The great proclamation of emancipation which he penned was the second Declaration of Independence—broader and fuller ; the new testament of human liberty.

And then you come from Indiana, supposed to be a Western State, but yet in its traditions older than Ohio. More than one hundred years ago a gallant Virginian went far up into your wilderness, captured

two or three forts, took down the British flags and reared the stars and stripes. Vincennes and Cahokia and a post in Illinois were a part of that capture. Your native State was one of the first fruits of that splendid fighting power which gave the whole West to the United States. And now these representatives of Indiana come, representing the Revolution in your hats, representing Abraham Lincoln in your badges, and representing the victory both of the Revolution and of Lincoln in the news you bring. I could not be an American and fail to welcome your costumes, your badges, your news and yourselves.

Many Indiana men were my comrades in the days of the war. I remember a regiment of them that was under my command near Corinth. When it was necessary for the defense of our forces to cut down a little piece of timber—seventy-five acres—we unboxed from my brigade about 4,000 new axes, and the Fifty-fifth regiment of Indiana Volunteers chopped down more trees in half a day than I supposed it was possible could fall in any forest in a week. It appears that in the political forests from which you have just come your axes have been busy again. I especially welcome the axemen of the Fifty-fifth regiment who may happen to be here ; and thank you all, gentlemen, for the compliment of your visit and the good news you bring. I do not prize that news half so much for its

personal relations to you and me as I do because it is a revival of the spirit of '76, the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the spirit of universal liberty, and the spirit of just, equal law all over the land. Gentlemen, I thank you again, and I shall be glad to take you by the hand.

AT MENTOR, O., OCT. 23.

TO HIS ASHTABULA FRIENDS.

GENTLEMEN : I believe you are nearly all, if not all, my constituents. That this is a home gathering, a sort of harvest home, just after the ordinary harvest and just before that other harvest, that somebody will gather in a short time, and therefore I feel the utmost freedom in meeting you and greeting you. We have been in the habit in the old XIXth District for about fifty years last past of believing in the existence and steadiness of the North Star, and we have believed in it in cloudy weather, when nobody could see a star. Amidst clouds and darkness this people kept on believing in it until nearly all the world saw it and saw the great constellation wheeling around its steady and unmovable centre. That North Star of the symbol of freedom and the equal rights of all men, has been kept steadily in view by the better people of the Western Reserve these forty years ; for a long time before the

"first voters" were born. These young men were born in the belief in it, and will not be likely to forget it, because it now shines plainly in the Northern Hemisphere.

To speak without a figure, the people of this old XIXth District long ago learned to be content with being right, even when they were in an apparently hopeless minority. Your speaker has just referred to Joshua R. Giddings. Think of the long, hard struggle where he was ostracised by all men excepting half a dozen at the National Capital, and denied the common civility and friendship of social life, but he fought on and fought on till in his last days he saw them triumph.

I have never received a compliment that touched my heart more deeply than when, after a speech I made in Congress for the same cause, there came from Jefferson, the capital of your county, a letter from the old patriot, thanking me that I had taken up his work, and saying I was worthily wearing his mantle. I am glad to meet you, young gentlemen, believing you are bound by united ties to be true to those great principles that the Western Reserve helped to plant and cherish. I know what this old district has done, and what it has suffered for its convictions; and I am glad to know that in rainy and tempestuous weather, in season and out of season, the Old Guard will be found

wherever the banner of freedom points the way to battle. You are welcome here to-day, gentlemen, thrice welcome. We are friends, we are neighbors, we are companions in the common cause ; and I trust that no young man who makes his first choice of party association to-day will be sorry for it when he looks back from the end of this century to the year 1880.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, OCTOBER 20.

THE EMANCIPATION PROBLEM SOLVED.

GENTLEMEN : I have listened carefully to what your speakers have said ; I have noted your manifestations of applause at the special points of their remarks. All the time, not now while the speaking is going on, but the time since the great struggle for equal rights in this country culminated in war, I have studied your problem with no little solicitude. It was a difficult problem not for you only, but for us, and equally difficult for the men who lately held you in slavery.

Of all problems that any nation ever confronted none was ever more difficult than that of settling the great race question which your existence upon this continent brought to our people and of settling it on the basis of broad justice and equal rights to all. It

was a tremendous trial of the faith of the American people ; a tremendous trial of the strength of our institutions. It was not for your sake alone that the thoughtful men of this country struck slavery and said it must die. It was certainly a good reason why slavery ought to die, that it wronged your race ; but it was an equally good reason why it should die because it was dangerous to the peace and prosperity of the white race and to the stability of the Republic. We are always inclined to express too much sympathy with the man who suffers wrong. That is right ; but we ought also to express anxious solicitude for the man who does the wrong, for in one very important sense he is more to be pitied than the victim. If a man murders you without provocation, your soul bears no burdens of the wrong, but all the angels of the universe will weep for the misguided man who committed the murder. And so I say the men who enslaved your race were wronging themselves as well as you. To protect them from being wrongdoers and shield your race from suffering wrong was the mighty problem which was solved by the abolition of slavery

Now, fellow-citizens, after the fierce struggle of the war, after Lincoln had given utterance to the great thought that the centuries of slavery had committed so great a sin that without the shedding blood there was no remission, and that our war was the bloody ex-

piation for that sin, even then, when you were free by the proclamation of Lincoln and by the amended Constitution that gave you citizenship, your problem was not solved. What is freedom without the intelligence to use it wisely? What is freedom without virtue and intelligence combined to make it, not a curse, but a blessing? You were not made free merely to be allowed to vote, but in order to enjoy an equality of opportunity in the race of life and to stand equal before the law. Permit no man to praise you because you are black, nor wrong you because you are black. Let it be understood that you are ready and willing to work out your own material salvation by your own energy, your own worth, your own labor. All that liberty can do for you is to give you a fair and equal chance, within the limits of the Constitution, and by the exercise of its proper powers it is the purpose of the best men on this continent to give you this equal chance and nothing more.

I congratulate you on the great advance which your race has already made under liberty. I have seen your representatives in Congress, one of them in the Senate, and I have seen them behave with such self-restraint, good sense, judgment, modesty and patriotism, that it has given me new hope that all their brethren will continue to climb up toward the light with every new opportunity. I will not affect to be any

more your friend than thousands of others. I do not even pretend to be particularly your friend, but only your friend with all other just men. On that basis and within those limitations, whatever can justly or fairly be done to assure to you an equality of opportunity it will always be my pleasure to do.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, OCT. 26.

TO HIS TRUMBULL COUNTY FRIENDS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You have no idea what it is to me to look out upon this circle of faces. There have been a good many strangers in this yard in the last two weeks. There are some strangers, perhaps, here now, but in this circle, all along its line, there are faces that flash back to me the memories of these twenty years past—years full of struggle, full of question, full of events, full of friendship, full of victories, full of all that goes to make up the life of public and private friendship on this Western Reserve.

You cannot know what strength it brings to me to see these friends who have stood, not by me alone, but by the cause that they believed I represent, and have stood by it in a most unselfish, earnest, intelligent, forcible, effective manner during all these years. Why, I see men in this circle who, in the whole of this long time, have never betrayed to me, by any sign or any word, that they had the least purpose of their own to

serve, but only the purpose to serve their country and its best interests, and that their friendship for me was largely, if not altogether, because they thought I was capable of rendering some service to the cause they loved and the country they revered.

A man with such friendships around him, with such support behind him, would be a very poor piece of timber, indeed, if he did not amount to something. And let me say, out of the soil of such hearts as these, out of the forces of such people as these there can grow all that is best in our civilization and under our institutions. I know not what awaits me in the future. I never discount it so far as it relates to myself. I never allow myself to be elated with what may be, nor depress myself with what may be ; but I do say this, that I cannot conceive that the time can ever come when the friendship of these men that are gathered in this yard to-day can be anything but dear to me, and of the greatest possible value in strengthening my heart and hope, whatever the field of my work may be.

AT MENTOR, OHIO, OCT. 28.

TO HIS OLD COLLEGE FRIENDS.

JUDGE DAY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I once read of a man who tried to wear the armor and wield the sword of some ancient ancestor, but found them

too large for his stature and strength. If I should try at this moment to wear and sway the memories which your presence awakens, I should be overwhelmed and wholly unable to marshal and muster the quick-coming throng of memories which this semi-circle of old friends and neighbors has brought to me. Here are schoolfellows of twenty-eight years ; here are men and women who were my pupils a quarter of a century ago ; here are venerable men, who, twenty-one years ago, in the town of Kent, launched me upon the stormy sea of political life. I see others who were soldiers in the old regiment which I had the honor to command, and could I listen to the touching and thoughtful words of my friend, the venerable late Chief-Justice of Ohio, who has just spoken, without remembering that evening in 1861, of which he spoke too modestly, when he and I stood together in the old church at Hiram, and called upon the young men to go forth to battle for the Union, and be enlisted before they slept and thus laid the foundation of the Forty-second Regiment.

How can I forget all these things and all that has followed? How can I forget that twenty-five years of my life were so braided and intertwined with the lives of the people of Portage County, when I see men and women from all its townships standing at my door? I cannot forget these things while life and conscious-

ness remain. No other period of my life can be like that. The freshness of youth, the very springtide of life, the brightening on toward noonday, all were with you and of you, my neighbors, my friends, my cherished comrades. In all the relations of social, student, military and political life and friendship, you are here so close to my heart that I cannot trust myself to an attempt to marshal these memories with anything like coherence. To know that my neighbors and friends in Portage County, since the first day of my Congressional life, have never sent to any convention a delegate who was hostile to me; that through all the storm of detraction that roared around me, the members of the Old Guard of Portage County have never wavered in their faith and friendship, but have stood an unbroken phalanx with their locked shields above my head, and have given me their hearts in every contest—if a man can carry in his memory a jewel more precious than this, I am sure Judge Day has never heard what it is.

AT PAINESVILLE, O., JULY 3.

WHAT MONUMENTS TEACH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I cannot fail to respond on such an occasion, in sight of such a monument to such a cause, sustained by such men. While I have listened

to what my friend has said, two questions have been sweeping through my heart. One was, "What does the monument mean?" and the other, "What will the monument teach?" Let me try, and ask you for a moment to help me to answer. What does the monument mean? Oh, the monument means a world of memories and a world of deeds, and a world of tears, and a world of glories. You know, thousands know, what it is to offer up your life to the country, and that is no small thing, as every soldier knows. Let me put a question to you for a moment. Suppose your country, in the awfully embodied form of majestic law, should stand above you and say, "I want your life, come up here on the platform and offer it," how many would walk up before that majestic presence and say, "Here I am; take this life and use it for your great needs?" And yet almost 2,000,000 men made that answer [applause], and a monument stands yonder to commemorate their answer. That is one of its meanings. But, my friends, let me try you a little further. To give up life is much, for it is to give up wife, and home, and child, and ambition. But let me test you this way further. Suppose this awfully majestic form should call out to you and say, "I ask you to give up health and drag yourself, not dead, but half alive through a miserable existence for long years, until you perish and die in your crippled and helpless

condition. I ask you to volunteer to do that." It calls for a higher reach of patriotism and self-sacrifice, but hundreds of thousands of you soldiers did that. That is what the monument means also. But let me ask you to go one step further. Suppose your country should say: "Come here on this platform, and in my name and for my sake consent to be idiots. Consent that your very brain and intellect shall be broken down into hopeless idiocy for my sake." How many could be found to make that venture? And yet thousands, and that with their eyes wide open to the horrible consequences, obeyed that call; and let me tell how 100,000 of our soldiers were prisoners of war, and many of them when death was stalking near, when famine was climbing up into their hearts, and idiocy was threatening all that was left of their intellects. The gates of their prison stood open every day if they would quit, desert their flag, and enlist under the flag of the enemy, and out of 180,000 not two per cent. ever received the liberation from death, starvation, idiocy, all that might come to them; but they took all these horrors and all these sufferings in preference to going back upon the flag of their country and the glory of its truth. Great God, was ever such measure of patriotism reached by any man on this earth before. That is what your monument means. By the subtle chemistry that no man knows,

all the blood that was shed by our brethren, all the lives that were devoted, all the grief that was felt, at last crystallized itself into granite, rendered immortal the great truth for which they died and it stands there to-day, and that is what your monument means.

Now, what does it teach? What will it teach? Why, I remember the story of one of the old conquerors of Greece who had traveled, in his boyhood, over the battle-fields where Miltiades had won victories and set up trophies. Returning, he said: "These trophies of Miltiades will never let me sleep." Why? Something had taught him from the chiseled stone a lesson that he could never forget; and, fellow-citizens, that silent sentinel, that crowned granite column, will look down upon the boys that will walk these streets for generations to come, and will not let them sleep when their country calls them. More than the bugler on the field from his dead lips will go out a call that the children of Lake County will hear after the grave has covered us all and our immediate children. That is the teaching of your monument. That is its lesson, and it is the lesson of endurance for what we believe, and it is the lesson of sacrifices for what we think; the lesson of terrorism for what we mean to sustain, and that lesson cannot be lost to a people like this. It is not a lesson of revenge; it is not a lesson of wrath; it is the grand, sweet, broad lesson of the im-

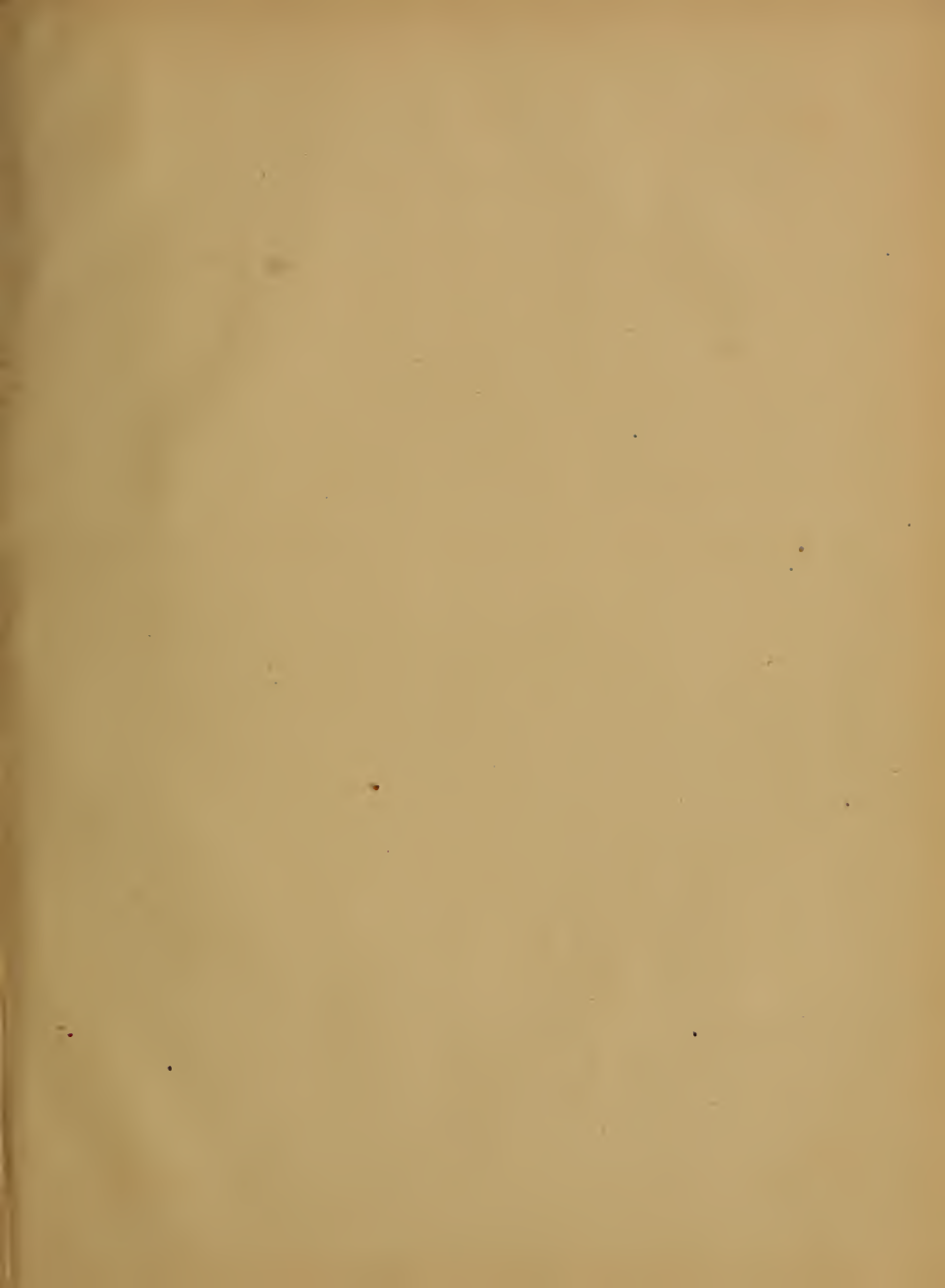
mortality of the truth that we hope will soon cover as with the grand shekinah of light and glory all parts of this Republic, from the Lakes to the Gulf. I once entered a house in old Massachusetts where, over its doors, were two crossed swords. One was the sword carried by the grandfather of its owner on the field of Bunker Hill, and the other was the sword carried by the English grandsire of the wife on the same field, and on the other side of the conflict. Under those crossed swords, in the restored harmony of domestic peace, lived a happy and contented and free family, under the light of our Republican liberties. I trust the time is not far distant when, under the crossed swords and the locked shields of Americans, North and South, our people shall sleep in peace and rise in liberty, love, and harmony under the union of our flag of the Stars and Stripes.

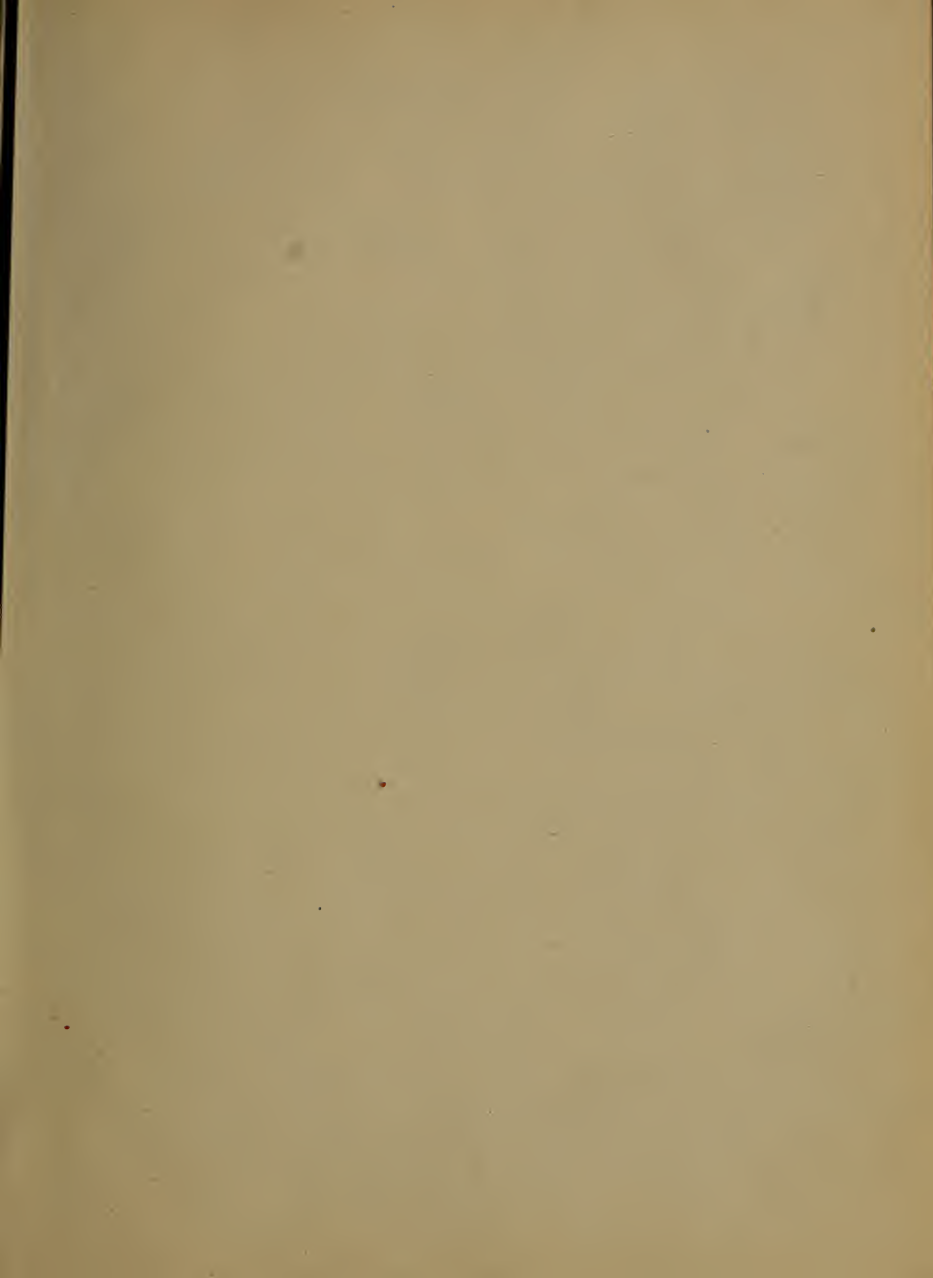
AT MENTOR, OHIO, NOV. 3.

TO THE FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF
OBERLIN COLLEGE.

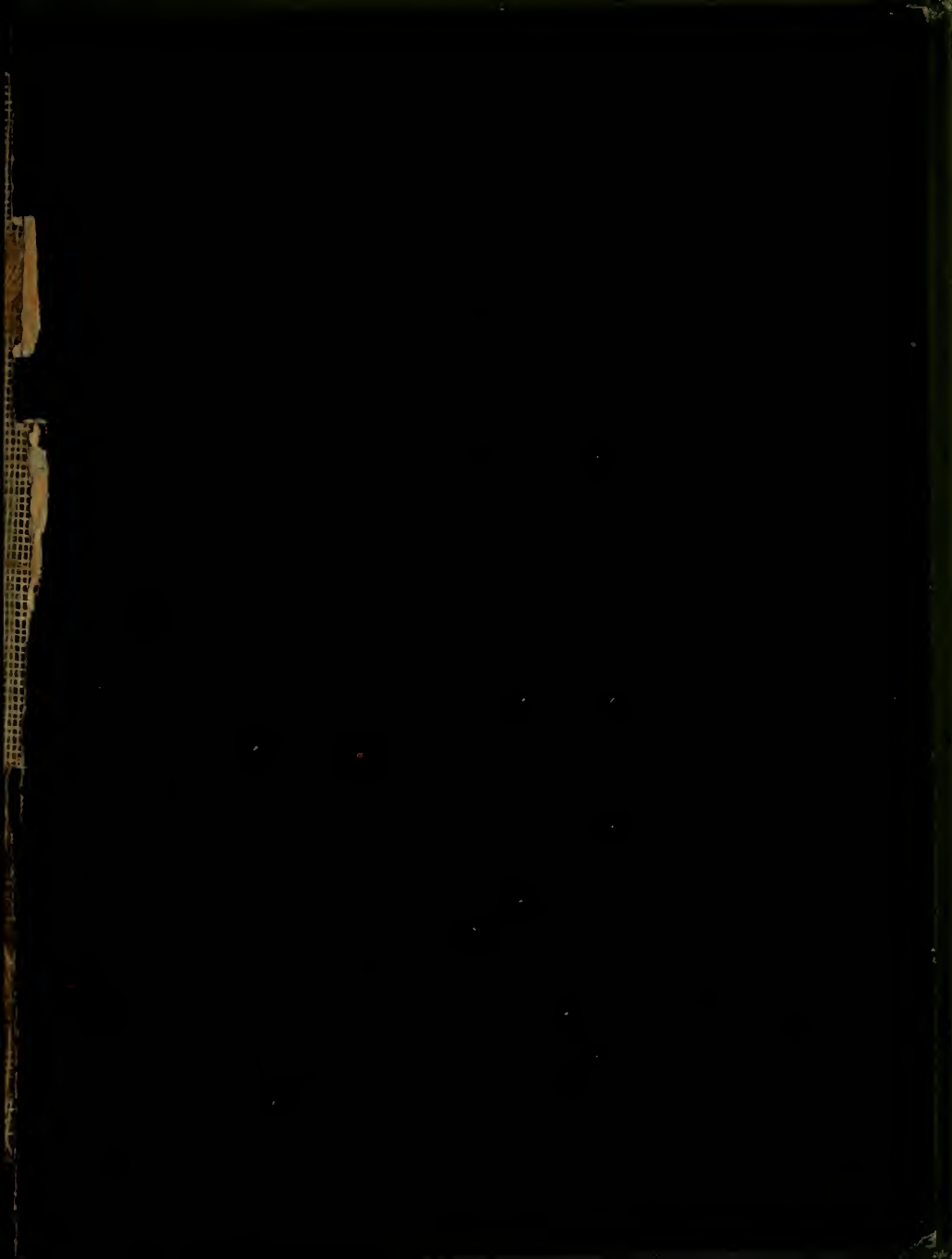
MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: This spontaneous visit is so much more agreeable than a prepared one, it comes more directly from the heart of the people who participate, and I receive it as a

greater compliment for that reason. I do not wish to be unduly impressible or superstitious, but, though we have outlived the days of the augurs, I think we have a right to think of some events as omens, and I greet this as a happy and auspicious omen, that the first general greeting since the event of yesterday is tendered to me by a venerable institution of learning. The thought has been abroad in the world a good deal, and with reason, that there is a divorce between scholarship and politics. Oberlin, I believe, has never advocated that divorce, but there has been a sort of cloistered scholarship in the United States that has stood aloof from active participation in public affairs, and I am glad to be greeted here to-day by the active, live scholarship of Ohio, and I know of no place where scholarship has touched upon the nerve-centre of public intelligence so effectually as at Oberlin. For this reason I am specially grateful for this greeting from the Faculty and students of Oberlin College and its venerable president. Whatever the significance of yesterday's event may be it will be all the more significant for being immediately indorsed by the scholarship and culture of my State.









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